1: Tocantins--1 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe: A Memoir Written and Read before the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute by Engineer Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, Corresponding Fellow of the Institute.

I

Journey to the central Mundurucu villages, situated in the valley of the Upper Tapajos. -- Itinerary from Belém, capital of the province of Pará, to those villages. -- Scenes of savage life.

I left Belém on the eighteenth of June, 1875, bound for the Upper Tapajos.

The journey up the Amazon from Belém to Santarém and up the Tapajos from Santarém to Itaituba takes five days on one of the big steamers of the Companhia do Amazonas.

At Itaituba I embarked in a small canoe manned by eight Indians, nearly all of the Maué tribe, and proceeded through the falls of the Upper Tapajos.

Ten days later I reached the Mission of Bacabal, which was founded by order of the Imperial Government and established on the right bank of the Tapajos on the twenty-third of February [illegible] 1872.

Translator's Note:

Wherever possible, the spelling of Portuguese and aboriginal words -- including names of places, tribes, rivers, plants, native foods and implements -- has been changed to its modern Brazilian equivalent.

Portuguese personal names and trade names, book titles, aboriginal word lists and Mundurucu quotations have been left untouched, as have a few other native words of uncertain phonetic rendition and those that would require the use of letter combinations equally foreign to present-day Portuguese.

by Fa. Antonino and Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

The missionary Fa. Pelino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

I continued my journey up the Tapajos and reached the mouth of the Cadereri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajos, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadereri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadereri.

The older of the two savages responded with the following sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadereri, who could guide us to the village of Necodemos whence he and his companion came. [78]

I was impressed by this name of Necodemos which the [illegible] generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemos in preference to any other.

VII

Early notices of the Munduruku -- Historical records

The Munduruku villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajos, which was discovered only 30 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevdo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Para, carrying six-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which hesamed the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Aires de Casal divided the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, theTocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajos, and the Madeira. For obviousreasons of Munduruco preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajos, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and inthe south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this other says that with the exception of a few wretches along the bankof the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, theMauri, the Parua, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andira, the Arua, and the Munduruco after whom the country was named.

"The Munduruco," Ayres de Casal goe on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black withgenipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the othr nations, who give them the name of Bai-uniet, which means head-cutter," owing to their custom of chopping off the heads of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Munduruco bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

of a different origin. Since I have already given the essential material
● 149 about the Apiacas it might, however, be appropriate to repeat here what I reported about the Mundrucus (Reise in Brasilien III. 1308 et. seq., 1337.) for no other traveller has actually observed these remarkable Indians in their native habitat.

The Mundrucus, Mondurucus, Mundurucus, Mocurícus (called by the Apiacas Pari)

151 The Mundrucus are, together with the Apiacas, the ruling tribe in the southern basin of the Tapajos. Their largest aldea de S. Manuel, which has trade connections with the Brasilians, lies about a day's journey below the junction of the Rio Arinos with the Juruena at the Rio negro (vermillion).

152 [387] When I met the first Mundrucus in the Mission Nova Monte Carmel de Canuma I had to admit that I had never before seen Indians like these. Without exception they were athletically built, broad-chested and four-square, plump and well nourished in limbs and torso, and the hard muscles so evenly covered as though these people had never interrupted a life of comfortable relaxation with the hardships [346] of war and the hunt. Their posture and their walk was that of conscious strength. What struck me the most, along with the general physical excellence of every member of the tribe, was the light skin color. 304 They were not so deep a copper red as many other Indians, in particular those living on plains or on large rivers, and this paler color was considerably accented by the tattooing (it was not just painting) which covered almost the whole of the body. * Either the whole face was

*See the illustration in lyric and blanket [illegible] they use a comb made from the thorns of several varieties of palm trees. In all probability there is no other tribe in South America which practices tattooing to the same extent. Rob. Dudley has drawn similar ones from Guyana.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society

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UNILINEAL descent and unilocal residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:313) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

"Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilocal but patrilineal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should regard its occurrence to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the unilocality or unilineality of the group is questionable. For example, Leeb and Brenk (1947:418) claim the Karen people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Marshall 1922; Heine-Geldern 1922) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Karen is verified by Murdock (1934). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

In 1952 the writer discovered the co-existence of matrilocality and patrilineality among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilocal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of students of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Considerations of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will [illegible] cultural, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from patrilineality to matrilineality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:198) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society can change from patrilocality to matrilocality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilocality, following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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terms, despite combining matrilocality and patrilineality. Contemporary informants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Munduruú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered elements of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Munduruú society.

According to Martius (1867:393), the Munduruú were apparently patrilocal, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man, however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (*ibid.*:393). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (*ibid.*:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of kin terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The practice of avunculate marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Murdock (1949:111-12) state that avunculate marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avunculate marriage had this function among the Munduruú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Munduruú whom, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

The reader will remember that contemporary Munduruú informants specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avunculate marriage, and this form of marriage was not collected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household with his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avunculate marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological theorization on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which would disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:130), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:427). Titiev (1943:316) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> "... there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion[1]

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GEORG SIMMEL (1955:33–4) noted that warfare is frequently the only mode of social interaction between primitive societies. He saw the social relations of such groups to be characterized by diametric opposition between the norms of behavior applicable to members of the ingroup, on one hand, and toward members of outgroups, on the other. This dichotomy was internally self-consistent to Simmel, and he wrote (*ibid*: 34):

> For this reason the same drive to expand and to act, which within the group requires unconditional peace for the integration of interests and for unfettered interaction, may appear to the outside world as a tendency toward war.

Intergroup conflict was viewed by Simmel has having positive functions: it provides the basis for group formation and cohesion, and it accentuates and maintains group boundaries. Conflict, then, is not aberrant or dysfunctional. Rather, it structures social relations both within and between societies.

Lewis Coser (1956:98), writing to Simmel's general thesis, points out that social cohesion does not automatically follow from conflict, for "social systems lacking social solidarity are likely to disintegrate in the face of conflict, although some unity may be despotically enforced." The corollary proposition is offered that:

> . . . if the basic social structure is stable, if basic values are not questioned, cohesion is usually strengthened by war through challenge to, and revitalization of, values and goals which have been taken for granted (*ibid*:98).

Coser's view by no means contradicts that of Simmel but is an elaboration of the latter's thesis, as cited above, that intergroup hostility and social cohesion are only analytically different aspects of the same social process. Conflict and social solidarity are mutually reinforcing: conflict promotes social integration, and solidarity is necessary if the group is to take effective common action against the outer world.

The present paper will analyze the warfare pattern of a Brazilian Indian group, the Mundurucú, in the light of the propositions given by Simmel and [illegible] by Coser. We will go beyond the thesis that warfare contributes to the maintenance of the social structure to consider also how this social structure organized the membership for military activity. Further, the thesis will be advanced that this type of social structure actually generated the bellicose activities and attitudes that functioned to preserve it, and that this circular relationship allowed Mundurucú society to continue through a period during which it was subjected to severe internal and external threats. Finally, we will conclude with a general hypothesis upon the relation between social structure, social cohesion, and conflict.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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PREFACE

This monograph is based primarily upon data gathered in the course of research among the Munduruc Indians of the state of Pará, Brazil, in 1952 and 1953. The field work, in which my wife Yolanda and I collaborated, was conducted with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded by the Trustees of Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. At the time of the investigation, we were graduate students in the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, and our work was under the guidance of Professors Julian H. Steward and Charles Wagley.

The focus of the research was upon those changes in economic and social structure consequent upon the involvement of the Munduruc in the rubber-extraction industry, but we set as a further goal the collection of as much ethnographic data as was possible during the year available. This aim was partly motivated by a desire to add to the information about South American Indian groups, but it was also felt that completely concentrated and problem-oriented research could be done only in cultures upon which a good background of reliable information was already available.

Actually, the Munduruc are probably better known than most South American Indians, except for those few groups which have been the subject of prolonged and intensive study. This speaks less for the wealth of published data than for the poverty of our knowledge of the area. A certain amount of data is available from the early nineteenth-century explorations of Spix and Martius, and a few scenes on Munduruc culture in the latter part of the century is available in the report of the Brazilian engineer, Antonio M. G. Tocantins. More limited and fragmentary data are available in the work of Manuel Ayres do Casal, Henry Walter Bates, William C. Farabee, João Barbosa Rodrigues, Henri Coudreau, José Monteiro Noronha, and Ricardo de Almeida Jorge. Some excellent material has been published by the Franciscan missionaries to the Munduruc, especially Padres Albert Kruse and C. Steinen. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the information published by these priests and their colleagues in the *Provinzialschrift der Franziskaner in Nordbrasilien*. The information available in most of the above sources is based upon limited residence among the Indians, and some contain most questionable data. *[illegible]* was written in the light of modern anthropological problems and theories or with the aid of contemporary field techniques.

Accordingly, my wife and I proceeded to gather as wide a range of data as was possible within the limits imposed by the necessity to accumulate material pertinent to our main interests. The present work represents one aspect of this research. The reader will see that a great deal of the native religion has been lost as a result of contact with Brazilian society, and certain items reported were not actually witnessed by us. It was continually necessary to resort to the memories of older Munduruc, but we made every attempt to insure the reliability of our facts by cross-checking our data with several informants. I stated in the text which activities and beliefs are extinct and which are still practiced. The final

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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chapter of the work systematically explores the processes of disappearance and retention of religious traits and offers an explanation of the phenomena. The analysis relates changes in the sphere of religion to corresponding alterations of the socio-economic structure. In this sense the volume continues my main interests and represents an additional treatise on the problems of culture change.

I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments of my colleagues, Professors Robert F. Heizer, Alfred L. Kroeber, and Theodore D. McCown. Mr. Sheldon Klein, a graduate student in anthropology, gave me valuable assistance in research on South American mythology. Funds for aid in the preparation of the manuscript were made available by the University of California.

The debt that my wife and I owe to our friends and colleagues in Brazil is incommensurable, and I regret that their numbers are so large that they cannot all be mentioned. Our research was especially aided, however, by Drs. Eduardo Galvão and Darcy Ribeiro, who were at that time ethnologists on the staff of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Officials of that agency in Rio de Janeiro, Belém, and in the field were unstinting in their cooperation, and our work owes much to their kindness. Mr. George Coleman, then United States consul in Belém, gave aid far beyond the requirements of his official duties, as he has to all anthropologists who have worked in the Amazon during the last decade. The priests and nuns of the Curuá River mission were especially warm and hospitable to us, and the Superior of the mission, Father Placido Tonlo, O.F.M., was generous in imparting knowledge derived from forty years residence among the Mundurucú. Finally, the Indians who accepted two inquiring strangers into their midst with understanding and kindness can only be repaid by this volume, which is a partial fulfillment of our promise to tell our people of their way of life.

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

A collection of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of Monte Velho and Cabeça. The latter community, one of the more conservative savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Manduruvú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of claus collected by Father Evans,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to those questioned. Manduruvú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and these may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

The older Manduruvú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification of the myths, actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origins of certain species. On the other hand, the Karumahkri cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero. There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Manduruvú cosmology.

Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world. In these tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Evans, 1958, pp. 60-67.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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THE SETTING

The Munduruú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundury, and Abacaxis rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River.

The Munduruú are usually classified as a Tupian-speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Munduruú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Munduruú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identification of the Nambikwara as the "Parecis Munduruú" are erroneous.[3] The Munduruú originally were an autonomous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact.

The present-day Munduruú population consists of about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea

[1] Nimuendajú, 1939, p. 973.
[2] Kruse, 1956, p. 51.
[3] Ibid., p. 52.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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614 713 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Munduruká. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaíbö divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to [614] which the Munduruká were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaíbö through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[1] The latter account and the previously 614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *dhuat*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*dhi* = river, *uat* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Parawathuat* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would 614 contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the 591 Munduruká are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Munduruká underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

614 [345] Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

[1] Kruse, 1934, pp. 86-87.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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582 601 further the brother's wife as *we ñi* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The application of the term *we ñi* to the mother's brother's children and not to those of the father's sister indicates that cross-cousin marriage was matrilateral. This possible preference is consistent with Homan's and Schneider's thesis that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is congruent with patrilineal systems.[*] Contemporary informants claim, however, that either cousin is now a suitable mate.

Following the terminological system, the equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of union with the sister's daughter. Thus, the analysis of nomenclature presents strong evidence for the past practice of avuncular marriage; the disparity between the kinship terms and current practice is probably an instance of the conservatism of terminology relative to the social relations they categorize.

114 582 601 The method of analysis employed above seems to be in violation of Murdock's dictum that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society."[*] It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate alone, but by all three practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock, himself, states the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following: "Since

[*] Homans and Schneider, 1955, p. 51.
[*] Murdock, 1949, p. 123.

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multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."[a]

That the patrilineality of Munduruc society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.[b] Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as *ue ñ* follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the referential term *o djorit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjung*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety.

Extension of kin terms is complete in Munduruc society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bat*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*uun gũ*) or "younger (*o kõt*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bekũt*) and "grandsons" (*tapõ*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Munduruc have "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapõ*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

[a] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[b] *Cf.* Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 99; Gillin, 1936, pp. 95-98.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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THE LOCAL GROUP

THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Munduruca exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayura men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Munduruca, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Munduruca men's house ekxá to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Munduruca culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the ekxá, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the ekxá are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 54.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 38.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 168.
[6] Ibid., p. 169.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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but it is equally possible that the former reporter was correct and that the present composition of the men's house represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Murphy's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such assessment is important, for, in contrast to the local endogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,* the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or unilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

*Cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

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the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that in so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[5] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[5] Murdock, 1949, pp. 208-210.

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primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock* is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

*Ibid., pp. 203–205.

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determined subjectively: cross-cultural studies of social and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological adaptation and type of relationship between social systems as constants in a different common denominator than the genetic as suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison,[6] but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Mundurucú and the Indian trappers of Canada.[7] In the latter study, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extractive economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of tradition patterns of postmarital residence, and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became organized into larger aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transferred to patrons.

Finally the reliance of the present work for the study of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given little attention to a borrowing of the symbolic forms of Western culture by the Mundurucú. The term "acculturation" has had a vivid history and much ink has been spilled over its decision. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of culture contact. Application in the past, however, has usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by primitive groups. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, though on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

[6] Eggan, 1954.
[7] Murphy and Steward, 1956.

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the central problem of this work. It might be asked whether the classical culture-historical emphasis of acculturation studies would have elucidated or confused some of the central issues of Munduruca social change. Could the development of matrifocality have been understood in these terms? Or could the fact that family organization among the Munduruca of the Cururú River is converging with that prevalent among the Brazilian population of the region be clarified by noting their intercourse with celibate German priests? It is true that the priests have encouraged the independence of the nuclear family, but how does this also explain a similar process of fragmentation among the Indians without close contact with the missionaries? Also, it cannot be denied that the adoption of Brazilian forms of dancing and trousers, of dresses and guitars, are significant because they constitute breaks in the symbolic barriers between the Munduruca and the whites and, in effect, bespeak alienation from the past. But were not these barriers already shattered and was not the major part of the population already alienated from their heritage by other factors?

The necessities of existence and the ways in which people and peoples interrelate should be the central problems for the student of culture change—as they are for the persons caught in the process. These, and not man's propensity to imitate, cause the fundamental alterations of a way of life. The question is perhaps too often phrased as "how *have* cultures changed" rather than "how *do* they change." The former leads to description, the latter to theory.

A recent report by a Social Science Research Council seminar on acculturation has expanded the outmoded definition of acculturation as simple transmission of culture between groups in contact to include almost anything that happens when "conjunctive" relations are established be-

[illegible] Murphy G-0 [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Robert F. Murphy

I

Ellet, the young chief of the Pasdarans[1] village of Gabrak, visited the village of Gabrak with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the two hour roundtrip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Ellet was on the trail of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Gabrak, he took a young and pretty wife to the house of his father, the chief of Gabrak. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Gabrak busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Gabrak, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Ellet, hearing of his notoriety, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time he lived in Gabrak, Ellet gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of the fellow Pasdarans.

In the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Ellet run. But the two questions of why the men of Gabrak plotted against him and why those of Gabrak pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Pasdaran society and culture and of Ellet's position within it. For Ellet was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reinstate both the normal flow of social interaction. Antheropologically, this is a study in Germanic and social control. Dramatically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

II

Ellet's personality was most dominant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it appeared with the normal behavior of Pasdarans men and their chiefs. I knew nothing of the antecedents of Ellet, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who lived in the village headed by Ellet's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Pasdaran, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Ellet, he addressed me in Nadaman Portuguese and in a staggering manner introduced himself as "Ellet, son of Gabrak the chief of Gabrak and chief of Gabrak." This calculated modesty is the difficult and bewildering way in which most Pasdarans addressed me, and

each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been amazed mostly with the tidbits and bits departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset or emotionally. What turned out to be a great problem to other ways. To what his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with others, to beat his followers, to bark, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Tuaregan activity or in their relationships with the outside world. He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our respective tents were ordered greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his harshest fellow followers—shortly after one of his visits, my wife discovered that her tents were missing. And as was my Tuaregan as break. They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Bilal would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we politely not to him that his body paint was staining them. Bilal had other such unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to me and did this even in the presence of third parties. But did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when remarks intended to him was near. But underneath this facade, Bilal was a frightened and lonely man. He would often confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be interpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Bilal had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

Bilal's behavior posed social stress every single point of Tuaregan psychology regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Tuaregan society is inherently egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are considered to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal matrilineal, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This dispersion the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the family from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a feeling of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also assumes membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by interlocking segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and individual drainage minimized, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,000, living in communities of 50 to 100 persons, such divisions are serious threats to social stability in any event, in one of the Tuaregan type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[7] Given the structure of Tuaregan society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, aggressive, sensitive, and willing to place the will of the collectivity before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Bilal presented a threat to cooperation and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and assertive—all the things that a Tuaregan should not be.

she had molested him. The village reacted to his charges extensively. They were highly amused at his accusations and hostilities, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village also became caught up in the crisis. Bilet's family supported him, but the majority of the population were rather actively against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Gabriela to Iakrok. And Bilet ran back and forth between Gabriela, where they plotted against his life, and Iakrok, where they took more concrete measures against the threat to his wife.

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Bilet's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made more difficult by virtue of the fact that Bilet had always ceased to be a social person--the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was made most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Iakrok fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Gabriela would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Bilet came immediately to Iakrok and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Bilet approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tenajós River." I asked him why, and, in true Bilet style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Bilet knew that his life as a Paiakoran was finished.

[illegible]

(1) Paiakorans (actual name not a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tenajós River in the state of Para, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1950-51 with the support of the William Rainey Harper Memorial Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Paiakoran social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Emergency Solidarity and Social Interest" (American Anthropologist, 55-1:115-31, 1953).

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headmen and Warfare (Berkeley, 1960).

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The Agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians*

*Most of the data that follow were gathered in 1957, in the course of a two-month stay among the Indians of the Franciscan division of Cururú and vicinity. My principal informants were the Mundurukú Tomé, Cirilo, and Anselmo. But I am also indebted to the mission fathers for much valuable data, for which I am grateful.

Pontius Pribel

Goeldi Museum

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture
II. Garden methods
III. Social factors
IV. Native terminology

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture

What we know of Mundurukú agriculture is little, and most of it is based on the reports of nineteenth-century travelers. Already in those days the Mundurukú were pictured as a people who possessed a certain level of primitive agriculture. These travelers spoke of the Mundurukú as living on the margin of the Tapajós River and as already being in the first stage of acculturation to the environment of the time. They dealt with the subject of "agriculture" as if it were an ancient culture trait among these Indians. This may indeed be the truth, for we cannot assert the contrary. [1] although certain

(1 comm.)

*241 crews Seringeiro and visi Munduruku-Wurmi, denen hinki, in Kanibe und heute Blasius von Polones ... vorgeht, wie an die Schiffe im Tapajós so verlassein pflegen, mitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr getreten sind...."

● 114 119 (I should like to learn here the following question: Did Martius have knowledge of traditions regarding a preagricultural era of the Munduruku? It would seem so, for he writes in the above-quoted passage: "... the somewhat dense population can no longer depend exclusively on hunting and fishing"; this might indicate knowledge of a previous stage of the Munduruku as hunters and gatherers but not as agriculturalists.)

*241 Still more or less in the same period, we have the testimony of Barbosa who speaks of the Munduruku as agriculturalists and good workmen in various parts of his book, though he does so rather offhandedly; he notes the fertility of the land and the relatively small effort required of the Indians to bring forth the necessities (?) of life; he tells of the large gardens of the Munduruku which he saw on the Cupari River and of how the women make flour; he says that the Munduruku carry on a certain amount of flour trading with the Indians of the Tapajós, and finally he notes that aside from bow-and-arrow wars they raise sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. (?)

1. Barbosa, 1946, passim.

114 There are practically no twentieth-century sources on the Munduruku. The Franciscan mission has not yet published its materials on these Indians, and the work of Robert Murphy, who also studied this tribe in 1952-53, aside from a few articles, has not reached us. Thus, our knowledge is based almost exclusively on the meagre data of the above-mentioned authors. Only Gonçalves

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/6 cont./

Tocantins appears to have provided some additional materials on Munduruku agriculture. But his work is not available to me at the moment.

The Handbook of South American Indians summarizes the subject in these few lines: "The Munduruku subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugar cane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco and gourds. Tocantins names some 30 unidentified plants utilized in Munduruku economy." (8)

8. Steere, 1946: 573.

And this is all, more or less, that is known of these Indians' agriculture. The present article, therefore, attempts to amplify the knowledge, although the author is well aware that in many respects, and especially regarding garden methods, the Munduruku system does not differ materially from that of other tribes in the region, or in the Amazon basin in general. /7/ Practical experience in the matter teaches us that agriculture among the Indians of the Amazon forest allows for slight variations, but not for basic differences.

II. Garden methods

If we regard the agriculture of the Munduruku Indians as a culture complex, we can easily single out two distinct elements. One is the purely material, manual, or technical element, which will be discussed here. The other is made up of various social factors which render agriculture not a lifeless task or factor, lacking all influence, not an isolated complex within the tribe, but something vitally integrated into tribal life, something upon which the well-being of the community and of the family now depend. In this sense, agriculture itself becomes a social element in native life. (9)